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PTQ6484

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	FBIE-00	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/030W			
				-----B0CC13	151731Z	/38	

O 151725Z MAR 95  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0327

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 000777

FOR AF FRIEDMAN AND AF/C

E.O. 12356: NA  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PREL, EAID, UN, RW  
SUBJECT: THE IDES OF MARCH IN KIGALI:  
AUGURIES, OMENS, AND SIGNS

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: I RETURNED TO KIGALI MARCH 15 AND CONVENED  
MY STAFF TO REVIEW RWANDA'S MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND  
POLITICAL SITUATION. THE FOLLOWING IS OUR ASSESSMENT.  
THE ECONOMIC FRONT IS STATIC, WITH THE BIGGEST NEWS THE  
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FLOATING OF THE RWANDAN FRANC EFFECTIVE MARCH 6.  
MILITARILY, ANALYSTS ARE PESSIMISTIC, WITH INCREASED  
TENSION PUTTING RPF AND UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES ON EDGE.  
POLITICALLY, THE DONOR COMMUNITY IS STRUGGLING TO FIND  
THE WAY TO DO THE RIGHT THING, AND THE GOR IS STRUGGLING  
TO UNDERSTAND THE DONOR COMMUNITY'S INABILITY TO DO  
SOMETHING, ANYTHING, NOW. END SUMMARY.

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THE ECONOMY  
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3. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT THERE IS LITTLE FORWARD MOTION.  
THE GOVERNMENT IS INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED AS IT BEGINS TO  
UNDERSTAND THAT THE PLEDGES AND PROMISES OF GENEVA ARE A  
MIXTURE OF PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE ASSISTANCE WHICH DOES  
NOTHING FOR THEIR CURRENT LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS. THEY ARE  
SYSTEMATICALLY DOING THEIR HOMEWORK WITH THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DETERMINE SPECIFICALLY WHAT  
THE PLEDGED AMOUNTS MEAN AND THEY ARE NOT HAPPY WITH THE  
RESULTS.

4. THE RECENT GOR DECISION AT WORLD BANK/IMF INSISTENCE  
TO FLOAT THE FRANC WITH UNRESTRICTED EXCHANGE AT 9 FOREX  
BUREAUS AND 2 BANKS SHOULD ENABLE THE EU CREDITS TO FLOW.  
THE ELUSIVE \$50 MILLION WORLD BANK CREDIT, HOWEVER, STILL  
AWAITS THE CLEARANCE OF FINAL HURDLES. THE GOVERNMENT  
HAS RECEIVED A BID FOR A PROCUREMENT AGENT AND ITS  
DECISION IS EXPECTED IN THE NEXT 48 HOURS. THE ENABLING  
AGREEMENT (LEGAL OPINION) HAS BEEN PREPARED IN DRAFT AND  
WILL BE REVIEWED BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE THIS WEEK.

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THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD QUICKLY ADOPT THE APPROVED  
DRAFT. THE LOCAL WORLD BANK REP EXPECTS ALL ELEMENTS TO  
BE IN PLACE FOR BANK DISBURSEMENTS BY THE END OF THE  
MONTH.

5. MEANWHILE, THE WORLD BANK MISSION, LARGELY COMPOSED OF  
SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, IS IN TOWN REVIEWING POSSIBILITIES FOR  
REPROGRAMMING PROJECT FUNDS. THE TEAM MAY INDEED LEARN  
MORE ABOUT THE INTRICACIES OF THE VERY COMPLEX RWANDAN

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SITUATION BUT OUR EARLY IMPRESSION IS THAT REPROGRAMMED FUNDS ARE A LONG WAY OFF.

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MILITARY/SECURITY  
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6. FROM A UNAMIR PERSPECTIVE, THE RWANDAN SECURITY SITUATION IS AT A CROSSROADS, REACHED PRIMARILY THROUGH OPERATION RETOUR. THE FORCE COMMANDER HAS SAID THAT OP RETOUR HAS GONE AS FAR AS IT CAN HOPE TO GO BY CONVINCING SOME OF THE IDP'S IN THE SOUTHWEST TO GO HOME. THE REMAINING IDP'S HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED THAT THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF FOLLOWING.

7. MEANWHILE THE SUCCESS OF OPERATION RETOUR HAS AGAIN CALLED INTO QUESTION UNAMIR'S MANDATE. GUARDING IDP'S IN THE CAMPS AND ESCORTING THEM TO THEIR HOME COMMUNES AS PART OF OP RETOUR ARE CLEARLY WITHIN UNAMIR'S MISSION. IN CONTRAST, NEITHER THE FORCE COMMANDER NOR THE SRSG CAN DEFINITELY SAY UNDER THE PRESENT MANDATE THAT UNAMIR HAS A SECURITY MISSION PROTECTING THOSE NEWLY RETURNED  
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IDP'S OR REFUGEES ONCE THEY ARE HOME. JUXTAPOSED AGAINST THAT LACK OF CLARITY IS THE GOR'S VERY CLEAR POSITION THAT SECURITY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE IS THE PREROGATIVE OF THE RPA. AS THE GOR HAS STEPPED UP ARRESTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THAT LACK OF CLARITY HAS PROMPTED THE SRSG AND THE FORCE COMMANDER TO ASK UN NEW YORK TO FORMALLY REVIEW THE CURRENT MANDATE.

8. THE GOR ALSO BELIEVES THE RWANDAN SECURITY SITUATION IS AT THE SAME CROSSROADS. THEIR PERSPECTIVE IS, HOWEVER, QUITE DIFFERENT. THE GOR--ESPECIALLY THE RPA--IS FACING AN INCREASINGLY CHALLENGING SECURITY SITUATION. THE GOR DISMISSED CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS IN THE NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST IN EARLY JANUARY AS BANDITRY. RECENT ATTACKS IN RUHENGERI AND ELSEWHERE AGAINST THE RPA, TH  
E  
ASSASSINATION BY SOMEONE OF THE PREFECT IN BUTARE, AND THE APPREHENSION OF EX-FAR- LED INTERAHAMWE INFILTRATORS

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IN KIGALI HAVE FORCED THE GOR TO ACCEPT PUBLICLY THAT IT  
FACES A LIMITED INSURGENCY.

9. THANKS TO OP RETOUR, THE GOR NOW CAN ARREST LIKELY  
SUPPORTERS FOR SUCH AN INSURGENCY--THOSE THE GOR BELIEVES  
WERE INVOLVED IN GENOCIDE. ARRESTS THEREFORE SERVE A

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O 151725Z MAR 95  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0328

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 000777

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E.O. 12356: N/A

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TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PREL, EAID, UN, RW  
SUBJECT: THE IDES OF MARCH IN KIGALI:  
AUGURIES, OMENS, AND SIGNS

DUAL ROLE, SATISFYING DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE AND AT THE SAME TIME, NULLIFYING POTENTIAL SECURITY PROBLEMS. OVERCROWDING IN THE PRISONS, WHILE OF CONCERN TO THE GOR, DOES NOT OFFSET THE NEED TO APPREHEND THOSE INVOLVED IN GENOCIDE, ESPECIALLY IF THOSE SAME SUSPECTS CONSTITUTE A SECURITY THREAT.

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10. CONSEQUENTLY WHILE UNAMIR AND THE GOR BOTH SEE RWANDAN SECURITY AT THE SAME JUNCTION, THEIR VIEWPOINTS ON WHICH PATH TO TAKE ARE IN CONFLICT. THE FRICTION BOILS DOWN TO THE QUESTION OF SECURITY, SPECIFICALLY SECURITY FOR WHOM AND HOW TO MAINTAIN THAT SECURITY. FOR UNAMIR, IT IS SECURITY FOR THREATENED POPULATIONS, BE THEY IN AN IDP CAMP OR PERHAPS IN THEIR HOME COMMUNES. FOR THE GOR, IT IS SECURITY FOR THE GOR, EPITOMIZED BY THE RPA'S INCREASED ARRESTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. EASING THAT FRICTION CAN ONLY BE DONE BY RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF UNAMIR'S MANDATE VERSUS GOR SOVEREIGNTY.

11. THE TIMING OF THIS FRICTION IS PARTICULARLY INOPPORTUNE, COMING ON THE EVE OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR'S TRAGIC RESUMPTION. RUMORS AND THREATS FROM ACROSS THE BORDER OF AN IMPENDING INVASION OR AT LEAST A SURGE IN FORMER MILITARY DESTABILIZATION EFFORTS AGAINST THE GOR HAVE ADDED TO THE EMOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FIRST COMMEMORATION OF THE GENOCIDE. THOSE EMOTIONS CONFLATE THE ISSUES OF RECONCILIATION, REPATRIATION, JUSTICE, AND SECURITY IN A MANNER THAT DEFIES EASY SEPARATION.

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POLITICAL  
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12. TURF BATTLES AS MINISTRIES FORM UP AND FIGHT OVER

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PERSONNEL, OFFICE SPACE, EQUIPMENT PROVE THAT BUREAUCRATS  
ARE FUNCTIONING, BUT DO NOT SO FAR TRANSLATE INTO  
EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FLOATING  
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OF THE FRANC (PARA 4) WAS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SITUATION IN  
WHICH THE GOR FINDS ITSELF. THE MEETING WAS VERY MUCH  
RUN BY THE IMF REPS, WITH THE YOUNG GOVERNOR OF THE  
CENTRAL BANK VERY MUCH IN THE BACKGROUND, NEVER  
INTRODUCED BY NAME. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS  
FIRST TO LEARN ABOUT THE LIBERALIZATION, BECAUSE THE IMF  
AND GOR BELIEVE THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE FLOAT WILL DEPEND  
ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THOSE NOW USING DOLLARS AS LEGAL  
TENDER TO CONVINCE THEIR EMPLOYEES AND VENDORS TO SWITCH  
TO FRANCS. THOSE IN THE ROOM WERE RECEPTIVE AND WILLING,  
BUT WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE SEEN THE CENTRAL BANK TAKING  
A LARGER LEADERSHIP ROLE TO CONVINCE RWANDANS THAT THEIR  
NATIONAL CURRENCY IS A DESIRABLE FORM IN WHICH TO HOLD  
WEALTH.

13. NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IS RWANDA'S BIGGEST POLITICAL  
PROBLEM AND WE COLLECTIVELY ARE FACING THE FACT THAT WE  
DON'T KNOW HOW TO RESOLVE IT. LAST WEEKS' COORDINATION  
ROUNDTABLE AT UNDP ELICITED MANY IDEAS, BUT NO ONE SEEMED  
CONVINCED THAT THIS IS A TASK THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY  
KNOWS HOW TO TAKE ON. WE SIMPLY DON'T KNOW HOW TO MOVE  
AHEAD ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, AND NEED TO CONSIDER  
WHETHER IT IS AN ISSUE FOREIGNERS ARE QUALIFIED TO TAKE  
ON.

14. ON THE REHABILITATION OF JUSTICE, THERE IS NOT EVEN  
AGREEMENT WHETHER THERE EVER EXISTED A JUSTICE SYSTEM  
AMENABLE TO REHABILITATION. A VISITING CANADIAN TEAM HAS  
DONE EXCELLENT WORK VISITING PRISONS AND SUGGESTING WAYS  
TO BRING SOME KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER BY DOING A  
CENSUS. THE TEAM REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF RELEASING

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ENROLLED PRISONERS ON BAIL FOR FUTURE APPEARANCE, BECAUSE  
THE POSSIBILITY OF REVENGE KILLINGS IS STILL TOO STRONG.  
THE RUMORED FOREIGN MAGISTRATES HAVE NOT ARRIVED, AND NO  
ONE IS SURE WHEN THEY EVER WILL. THE BEST ESTIMATE WE  
GET IS THAT THERE WILL BE NO TRIALS AT THE INTERNATIONAL  
TRIBUNAL IN 1995, AND ONLY SEVEN IN 1996. MEANWHILE THE  
PRISON POPULATION IS GROWING; PRISON CAPACITY IS A  
LREADY  
OVERSTRETCHED. THE QUESTION OF WHAT HAPPENS AFTER TRIAL  
AND SENTENCING HAS NOT BEEN ADDRESSED. WHO WILL PAY FOR  
PROLONGED DETENTION, WHO WILL SUPPORT THE FAMILIES OF THE  
IMPRISONED?

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COMMENTS  
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15. THE VIEW OF OUR COUNTRY TEAM, UN OBSERVERS AND MY  
DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES IS THAT THE COMMONALITY OF PURPOSE  
AND HOPES FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE WITNESSED AT THE GENEVA  
ROUND TABLE HAS GIVEN WAY TO FRUSTRATION, CONFUSION AND  
GOVERNMENT SUSPICION OF INTERNATIONAL INTENTIONS. I AM  
REMINDING OF PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR MURIGANDE'S COMMENT  
TO ME TWO WEEKS AGO THAT UNLESS THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE

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O 151725Z MAR 95  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0329

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 000777

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E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PREL, EAID, UN, RW  
SUBJECT: THE IDES OF MARCH IN KIGALI:  
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GOVERNMENT ARE RECOGNIZED AND ENCOURAGED BY CONCRETE  
ASSISTANCE, HARDLINERS WILL BE TEMPTED TO PUSH FOR A "GO-  
IT-ALONE" PROGRAM THAT SATISFIES THEIR OWN AMBITIONS.  
MODERATES, BOTH TUTSI AND HUTU, APPEAR NOW TO BE ENGAGED  
IN A STRUGGLE OVER THE POLICY FUTURE FOR RWANDA WITH THE  
"NEVER AGAINERS" WHO SEE PERMANENT TUTSI HEGEMONY AS THE  
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ONLY GUARANTEE AGAINST FUTURE GENOCIDE.

16. THESE SUSPICIONS, NASCENT INSURGENCIES AND POLITICAL  
INFIGHTING BUT CONFIRM THAT OUR POLICIES ARE ON THE RIGHT  
TRACK. QUICK REHABILITATION AID FOR THE MINISTRIES HAS  
BEEN TOO LONG IN COMING, BUT THE EQUIPMENT AND VEHICLES

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THAT WE HAVE PROCURED ARE FINALLY ARRIVING IN KIGALI. WE WERE HAPPY TO RECEIVE TODAY A DC-10 FILLED WITH HUMANITARIAN AID FROM A DOD PROGRAM. WE CAN GET MORE MILEAGE OUT OF THAT, AND NOT JUST IN A PR SENSE. THESE TANGIBLE ITEMS -- MEDICAL SUPPLIES -- HELP NOT JUST U.S. INTERESTS, BY SHOWING THE FLAG, BUT HELP THE GOVERNMENT NOW IN PLACE BY SHOWING THAT IT CAN GET THINGS DONE AND COME UP WITH THE NEEDFUL.

17. ESTABLISHMENT OF MEANS TO ADMINISTER JUSTICE REMAINS A DAUNTING BUT PRIORITY TASK. THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, WHOSE PROSECUTOR IS FINALLY TO ARRIVE NEXT MONDAY, WILL PURSUE ITS INVESTIGATION WITH DUE DELIBERATION. GIVEN THE NUMBER OF DONORS ANXIOUS TO HELP WITH THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, AND THE IMPROVED COORDINATION ON THIS ISSUE, WE MAY BEGIN TO SEE SOME ELEMENTS OF THAT SYSTEM PUT IN PLACE. AT THIS JUNCTURE, WE CANNOT AFFORD A TURF BATTLE BETWEEN UNDP AND UNHCHR. I FAVOR LETTING UNDP BE THE OVERALL COORDINATOR FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, BUT THE UNHCHR THE LEAD AGENCY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. WE MAY WISH TO SECOND PERSONNEL TO IT FOR COORDINATION WITHIN THE MINISTRY OF UUSTICE, UNLESS OTHER DONORS CAN COME UP WITH APPROPRIATE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN A QUICKER TIMEFRAME.

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18. IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR RESOLUTION OF RETAINING PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE WOULD DIFFUSE TENSIONS. SO FAR THE GOVERNMENT SEES US FEEDING MURDERERS AND PROTECTING THEM ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BORDER WHILE ABETTING THEIR RETRAINING PROGRAMS, RATHER THAN BRINGING THEM TO JUSTICE. RWANDANS ARE NOT YET CONVINCED THAT THE PLANNERS AND PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE WILL IN FACT BE ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED.

19. FINALLY, OUR POLICY HAS BEEN QUICKLY TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT GAIN THE CAPACITY TO FUNCTION. QUICK DISPERSING AID IS A KEY TO THAT END. WE HAVE NOT YET FOUND THAT KEY. THE TRUST FUND HAS PLEDGES OF 16 MILLION DOLLARS, BUT BANKABLE ASSETS OF ONLY TWO MILLION. WORLD

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BANK "QUICK DISPERSING" AID HAS YET TO COME ON STREAM AND WHEN IT DOES, IT WILL FUND COMMODITY PURCHASES, NOT GOVERNMENT EXPENSES. COUNTERPART FUNDS FROM BELGIUM AND CANADA ARE PAYING SOME SALARIES, BUT ARE NOT SUFFICIENT TO COVER THE MINIMUM COST OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS NO REVENUE STREAM. DISBURSEMENTS INCLUDING STABEX ALLOCATIONS FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION MAY BE THE QUICKEST SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT NOW THAT THE EU'S REQUIREMENT OF AN ESTABLISHED EXCHANGE RATE POLICY HAVE BEEN MET. THE NEW YORK OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP SHOULD EXPLORE EVERY OTHER POSSIBLE MEANS OF GETTING MONEY INTO THE TILL. AS EVER, AUGURIES AND OMENS, AND HOW PEOPLE READ THEM, HAVE A LOT TO DO WITH POLITICAL WILL AND EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION. RAWSON

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